Encyclopedia of World Cultures

Volume X

Indexes

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD CULTURES

David Levinson
Editor in Chief

North America
Oceania
South Asia
Europe (Central, Western, and Southeastern Europe)
East and Southeast Asia
Russia and Eurasia / China
South America
Middle America and the Caribbean
Africa and the Middle East
Indexes

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Volume X

INDEXES

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Volume Editor

G.K. Hall & Co.
Boston, Massachusetts

MEASUREMENT CONVERSIONS

When You Know	Multiply By	To Find
LENGTH		
inches	2.54	centimeters
feet	30	centimeters
yards	0.9	meters
miles	1.6	kilometers
millimeters	0.04	inches
centimeters	0.4	inches
meters	3.3	feet
meters	1.1	yards
kilometers	0.6	miles
AREA		
square feet	0.09	square meters
square yards	0.8	square meters
square miles	2.6	square kilometers
acres	0.4	hectares
hectares	2.5	acres
square meters	1.2	square yards
square kilometers	0.4	square miles

TEMPERATURE

°C = (°F − 32) ÷ 1.8

°F = (°C × 1.8) + 32

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Preface

This project began in 1987 with the goal of assembling a basic reference source that provides accurate, clear, and concise descriptions of the cultures of the world. We wanted to be as comprehensive and authoritative as possible: comprehensive, by providing descriptions of all the cultures of each region of the world or by describing a representative sample of cultures for regions where full coverage is impossible, and authoritative by providing accurate descriptions of the cultures for both the past and the present.

The publication of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* in the last decade of the twentieth century is especially timely. The political, economic, and social changes of the past fifty years have produced a world more complex and fluid than at any time in human history. Three sweeping transformations of the worldwide cultural landscape are especially significant.

First is what some social scientists are calling the "New Diaspora"—the dispersal of cultural groups to new locations across the world. This dispersal affects all nations and takes a wide variety of forms: in East African nations, the formation of new towns inhabited by people from dozens of different ethnic groups; in Micronesia and Polynesia, the movement of islanders to cities in New Zealand and the United States; in North America, the replacement by Asians and Latin Americans of Europeans as the most numerous immigrants; in Europe, the increased reliance on workers from the Middle East and North Africa; and so on.

Second, and related to this dispersal, is the internal division of what were once single, unified cultural groups into two or more relatively distinct groups. This pattern of internal division is most dramatic among indigenous or third or fourth world cultures whose traditional ways of life have been altered by contact with the outside world. Underlying this division are both the population dispersion mentioned above and sustained contact with the economically developed world. The result is that groups who at one time saw themselves and were seen by others as single cultural groups have been transformed into two or more distinct groups. Thus, in many cultural groups, we find deep and probably permanent divisions between those who live in the country and those who live in cities, those who follow the traditional religion and those who have converted to Christianity, those who live inland and those who live on the seacoast, and those who live by means of a subsistence economy and those now enmeshed in a cash economy.

The third important transformation of the worldwide cultural landscape is the revival of ethnic nationalism, with many peoples claiming and fighting for political freedom and territorial integrity on the basis of ethnic solidarity and ethnic-based claims to their traditional homeland. Although most attention has focused recently on ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the trend is nonetheless a worldwide phenomenon involving, for example, American Indian cultures in North and South America, the Basques in Spain and France, the Tamil and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, and the Tutsi and Hutu in Burundi, among others.

To be informed citizens of our rapidly changing multicultural world we must understand the ways of life of people from cultures different from our own. "We" is used here in the broadest sense, to include not just scholars who study the cultures of the world and businesspeople and government officials who work in the world community but also the average citizen who reads or hears about multicultural events in the news every day and young people who are growing up in this complex cultural world. For all of these people—which means all of us—there is a pressing need for information on the cultures of the world. This encyclopedia provides this information in two ways. First, its descriptions of the traditional ways of life of the world's cultures can serve as a baseline against which cultural change can be measured and understood. Second, it acquaints the reader with the contemporary ways of life throughout the world.

We are able to provide this information largely through the efforts of the volume editors and the nearly one thousand contributors who wrote the cultural summaries that are the heart of the book. The contributors are social scientists (anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and geographers) as well as educators, government officials, and missionaries who usually have firsthand research-based knowledge of the cultures they write about. In many cases they are the major expert or one of the leading experts on the culture, and some are themselves members of the cultures. As experts, they are able to provide accurate, up-to-date information. This is crucial for many parts of the world where indigenous cultures may be overlooked by official information seekers such as government census takers. These experts have often lived among the people they write about, conducting participant-observations with them and speaking their language. Thus they are able to provide integrated, holistic descriptions of the cultures, not just a list of facts. Their portraits of the cultures leave the reader with a real sense of what it means to be a "Taos" or a "Rom" or a "Sicilian."

Those summaries not written by an expert on the culture have usually been written by a researcher at the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., working from primary source materials.

The Human Relations Area Files, an international educational and research institute, is recognized by professionals in the social and behavioral sciences, humanities, and medical sciences as a major source of information on the cultures of the world.

Uses of the Encyclopedia

This encyclopedia is meant to be used by a variety of people for a variety of purposes. It can be used both to gain a general understanding of a culture and to find a specific piece of information by looking it up under the relevant subheading in a summary. It can also be used to learn about a particular region or subregion of the world and the social, economic, and political forces that have shaped the cultures in that region. The encyclopedia is also a resource guide that leads readers who want a deeper understanding of particular cultures to additional sources of information. Resource guides in the encyclopedia include ethnonyms listed in each summary, which can be used as entry points into the social science literature where the culture may sometimes be identified by a different name; a bibliography at the end of each summary, which lists books and articles about the culture; and a filmography at the end of each volume, which lists films and videos on many of the cultures.

Beyond being a basic reference resource, the encyclopedia also serves readers with more focused needs. For researchers interested in comparing cultures, the encyclopedia serves as the most complete and up-to-date sampling frame from which to select cultures for further study. For those interested in international studies, the encyclopedia leads one quickly into the relevant social science literature as well as providing a state-of-the-art assessment of our knowledge of the cultures of a particular region. For curriculum developers and teachers seeking to internationalize their curriculum, the encyclopedia is itself a basic reference and educational resource as well as a directory to other materials. For government officials, it is a repository of information not likely to be available in any other single publication or, in some cases, not available at all. For students, from high school through graduate school, it provides background and bibliographic information for term papers and class projects. And for travelers, it provides an introduction into the ways of life of the indigenous peoples in the area of the world they will be visiting.

Format of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia comprises ten volumes, ordered by geographical regions of the world. The order of publication is not meant to represent any sort of priority. Volumes 1 through 9 contain a total of about fifteen hundred summaries along with maps, glossaries, and indexes of alternate names for the cultural groups. The tenth and final volume contains cumulative lists of the cultures of the world, their alternate names, and a bibliography of selected publications pertaining to those groups.

North America covers the cultures of Canada, Greenland, and the United States of America.
Oceania covers the cultures of Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.
South Asia covers the cultures of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and other South Asian islands, and the Himalayan states.
Europe covers the cultures of Europe.
East and Southeast Asia covers the cultures of Japan, Korea, mainland and insular Southeast Asia, and Taiwan.
Russia and Eurasia / China covers the cultures of Mongolia, the People's Republic of China, and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
South America covers the cultures of South America.
Middle America and the Caribbean covers the cultures of Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean islands.
Africa and the Middle East covers the cultures of Madagascar and sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and south-central Asia.

Format of the Volumes

Each volume contains this preface, an introductory essay by the volume editor, the cultural summaries ranging from a few lines to several pages each, maps pinpointing the location of the cultures, a filmography, an ethnonym index of alternate names for the cultures, and a glossary of scientific and technical terms. All entries are listed in alphabetical order and are extensively cross-referenced.

Cultures Covered

A central issue in selecting cultures for coverage in the encyclopedia has been how to define what we mean by a cultural group. The questions of what a culture is and what criteria can be used to classify a particular social group (such as a religious group, ethnic group, nationality, or territorial group) as a cultural group have long perplexed social scientists and have yet to be answered to everyone's satisfaction. Two realities account for why the questions cannot be answered definitively. First, a wide variety of different types of cultures exist around the world. Among common types are national cultures, regional cultures, ethnic groups, indigenous societies, religious groups, and unassimilated immigrant groups. No single criterion or marker of cultural uniqueness can consistently distinguish among the hundreds of cultures that fit into these general types. Second, as noted above, single cultures or what were at one time identified as single cultures can and do vary internally over time and place. Thus a marker that may identify a specific group as a culture in one location or at one time may not work for that culture in another place or at another time. For example, use of the Yiddish language would have been a marker of Jewish cultural identity in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, but it would not serve as a marker for Jews in the twentieth-century United States, where most speak English. Similarly, residence on one of the Cook Islands in Polynesia would have been a marker of Cook Islander identity in the eighteenth century, but not in the twentieth century when two-thirds of Cook Islanders live in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Given these considerations, no attempt has been made to develop and use a single definition of a cultural unit or to develop and use a fixed list of criteria for identifying cultural units. Instead, the task of selecting cultures was left to the volume editors, and the criteria and procedures they used are discussed in their introductory essays. In general, however, six criteria were used, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination to classify social groups as cultural groups: (1) geographical localization, (2) identification in the social science literature as a distinct group, (3) distinct language, (4) shared traditions, religion, folklore, or values, (5) maintenance of

group identity in the face of strong assimilative pressures, and (6) previous listing in an inventory of the world's cultures such as *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967) or the *Outline of World Cultures* (Murdock 1983).

In general, we have been "lumpers" rather than "splitters" in writing the summaries. That is, if there is some question about whether a particular group is really one culture or two related cultures, we have more often than not treated it as a single culture, with internal differences noted in the summary. Similarly, we have sometimes chosen to describe a number of very similar cultures in a single summary rather than in a series of summaries that would be mostly redundant. There is, however, some variation from one region to another in this approach, and the rationale for each region is discussed in the volume editor's essay.

Two categories of cultures are usually not covered in the encyclopedia. First, extinct cultures, especially those that have not existed as distinct cultural units for some time, are usually not described. Cultural extinction is often, though certainly not always, indicated by the disappearance of the culture's language. So, for example, the Aztec are not covered, although living descendants of the Aztec, the Nahuatl-speakers of central Mexico, are described.

Second, the ways of life of immigrant groups are usually not described in much detail, unless there is a long history of resistance to assimilation and the group has maintained its distinct identity, as have the Amish in North America. These cultures are, however, described in the location where they traditionally lived and, for the most part, continue to live, and migration patterns are noted. For example, the Hmong in Laos are described in the Southeast Asia volume, but the refugee communities in the United States and Canada are covered only in the general summaries on Southeast Asians in those two countries in the North America volume. Although it would be ideal to provide descriptions of all the immigrant cultures or communities of the world, that is an undertaking well beyond the scope of this encyclopedia, for there are probably more than five thousand such communities in the world.

Finally, it should be noted that not all nationalities are covered, only those that are also distinct cultures as well as political entities. For example, the Vietnamese and Burmese are included but Indians (citizens of the Republic of India) are not, because the latter is a political entity made up of a great mix of cultural groups. In the case of nations whose populations include a number of different, relatively unassimilated groups or cultural regions, each of the groups is described separately. For example, there is no summary for Italians as such in the Europe volume, but there are summaries for the regional cultures of Italy, such as the Tuscans, Sicilians, and Tirolians, and other cultures such as the Sinti Piemontese.

Cultural Summaries

The heart of this encyclopedia is the descriptive summaries of the cultures, which range from a few lines to five or six pages in length. They provide a mix of demographic, historical, social, economic, political, and religious information on the cultures. Their emphasis or flavor is cultural; that is, they focus on the ways of life of the people—both past and present—and the factors that have caused the culture to change over time and place.

A key issue has been how to decide which cultures should be described by longer summaries and which by shorter ones. This decision was made by the volume editors, who had to balance a number of intellectual and practical considerations. Again, the rationale for these decisions is discussed in their essays. But among the factors that were considered by all the editors were the total number of cultures in their region, the availability of experts to write summaries, the availability of information on the cultures, the degree of similarity between cultures, and the importance of a culture in a scientific or political sense.

The summary authors followed a standardized outline so that each summary provides information on a core list of topics. The authors, however, had some leeway in deciding how much attention was to be given each topic and whether additional information should be included. Summaries usually provide information on the following topics:

CULTURE NAME: The name used most often in the social science literature to refer to the culture or the name the group uses for itself.

ETHNONYMS: Alternate names for the culture including names used by outsiders, the self-name, and alternate spellings, within reasonable limits.

ORIENTATION

Identification. Location of the culture and the derivation of its name and ethnonyms.

Location. Where the culture is located and a description of the physical environment.

Demography. Population history and the most recent reliable population figures or estimates.

Linguistic Affiliation. The name of the language spoken and/or written by the culture, its place in an international language classification system, and internal variation in language use.

HISTORY AND CULTURAL RELATIONS: A tracing of the origins and history of the culture and the past and current nature of relationships with other groups.

SETTLEMENTS: The location of settlements, types of settlements, types of structures, housing design and materials.

ECONOMY

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The primary methods of obtaining, consuming, and distributing money, food, and other necessities.

Industrial Arts. Implements and objects produced by the culture either for its own use or for sale or trade.

Trade. Products traded and patterns of trade with other groups.

Division of Labor. How basic economic tasks are assigned by age, sex, ability, occupational specialization, or status.

Land Tenure. Rules and practices concerning the allocation of land and land-use rights to members of the culture and to outsiders.

KINSHIP

Kin Groups and Descent. Rules and practices concerning kin-based features of social organization such as lineages and clans and alliances between these groups.

Kinship Terminology. Classification of the kinship terminological system on the basis of either cousin terms or genera-

tion, and information about any unique aspects of kinship terminology.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY
Marriage. Rules and practices concerning reasons for marriage, types of marriage, economic aspects of marriage, postmarital residence, divorce, and remarriage.
Domestic Unit. Description of the basic household unit including type, size, and composition.
Inheritance. Rules and practices concerning the inheritance of property.
Socialization. Rules and practices concerning child rearing including caretakers, values inculcated, child-rearing methods, initiation rites, and education.

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION
Social Organization. Rules and practices concerning the internal organization of the culture, including social status, primary and secondary groups, and social stratification.
Political Organization. Rules and practices concerning leadership, politics, governmental organizations, and decision making.
Social Control. The sources of conflict within the culture and informal and formal social control mechanisms.
Conflict. The sources of conflict with other groups and informal and formal means of resolving conflicts.

RELIGION AND EXPRESSIVE CULTURE
Religious Beliefs. The nature of religious beliefs including beliefs in supernatural entities, traditional beliefs, and the effects of major religions.
Religious Practitioners. The types, sources of power, and activities of religious specialists such as shamans and priests.
Ceremonies. The nature, type, and frequency of religious and other ceremonies and rites.
Arts. The nature, types, and characteristics of artistic activities including literature, music, dance, carving, and so on.
Medicine. The nature of traditional medical beliefs and practices and the influence of scientific medicine.
Death and Afterlife. The nature of beliefs and practices concerning death, the deceased, funerals, and the afterlife.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A selected list of publications about the culture. The list usually includes publications that describe both the traditional and the contemporary culture.

AUTHOR'S NAME: The name of the summary author.

Maps

Each regional volume contains maps pinpointing the current location of the cultures described in that volume. The first map in each volume is usually an overview, showing the countries in that region. The other maps provide more detail by marking the locations of the cultures in four or five subregions.

Filmography

Each volume contains a list of films and videos about cultures covered in that volume. This list is provided as a service and in no way indicates an endorsement by the editor, the volume editor, or the summary authors. Addresses of distributors are provided so that information about availability and prices can be readily obtained.

Ethnonym Index

Each volume contains an ethnonym index for the cultures covered in that volume. As mentioned above, ethnonyms are alternative names for the culture—that is, names different from those used here as the summary headings. Ethnonyms may be alternative spellings of the culture name, a totally different name used by outsiders, a name used in the past but no longer used, or the name in another language. It is not unusual that some ethnonyms are considered degrading and insulting by the people to whom they refer. These names may nevertheless be included here because they do identify the group and may help some users locate the summary or additional information on the culture in other sources. Ethnonyms are cross-referenced to the culture name in the index.

Glossary

Each volume contains a glossary of technical and scientific terms found in the summaries. Both general social science terms and region-specific terms are included.

Special Considerations

In a project of this magnitude, decisions had to be made about the handling of some information that cannot easily be standardized for all areas of the world. The two most troublesome matters concerned population figures and units of measure.

Population Figures

We have tried to be as up-to-date and as accurate as possible in reporting population figures. This is no easy task, as some groups are not counted in official government censuses, some groups are very likely undercounted, and in some cases the definition of a cultural group used by the census takers differs from the definition we have used. In general, we have relied on population figures supplied by the summary authors. When other population data sources have been used in a volume, they are so noted by the volume editor. If the reported figure is from an earlier date—say, the 1970s—it is usually because it is the most accurate figure that could be found.

Units of Measure

In an international encyclopedia, editors encounter the problem of how to report distances, units of space, and temperature. In much of the world, the metric system is used, but scientists prefer the International System of Units (similar to the metric system), and in Great Britain and North America the English system is usually used. We decided to use English measures in the North America volume and metric measures in the other volumes. Each volume contains a conversion table.

Acknowledgments

In a project of this size, there are many people to acknowledge and thank for their contributions. In its planning stages, members of the research staff of the Human Relations Area Files provided many useful ideas. These included Timothy J. O'Leary, Marlene Martin, John Beierle, Gerald Reid, Delores Walters, Richard Wagner, and Christopher Latham. The advisory editors, of course, also played a major role in planning the project, and not just for their own volumes but also for the

project as a whole. Timothy O'Leary, Terence Hays, and Paul Hockings deserve special thanks for their comments on this preface and the glossary, as does Melvin Ember, president of the Human Relations Area Files. Members of the office and technical staff also must be thanked for so quickly and carefully attending to the many tasks a project of this size inevitably generates. They are Erlinda Maramba, Abraham Maramba, Victoria Crocco, Nancy Gratton, and Douglas Black. At Macmillan and G.K. Hall, the encyclopedia has benefited from the wise and careful editorial management of Elly Dickason, Elizabeth Kubik, and Elizabeth Holthaus, and the editorial and production management of Ara Salibian.

Finally, I would like to thank Melvin Ember and the board of directors of the Human Relations Area Files for their administrative and intellectual support for this project.

DAVID LEVINSON

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Introduction

It has taken ten years of work to produce this ten-volume Encyclopedia of World Cultures. Thirteen editors, six associate editors, 800 contributors, 20 translators, and the staffs of the Human Relations Area Files, G. K. Hall and Co., and Macmillan Library Reference have been involved in the process. In keeping with the global scope of the subject matter, the 800 contributors represent 52 different nations, with the majority writing from the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. Some 150 articles were translated from Russia, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Ukrainian, Kazakh, and Chinese for inclusion in the Encyclopedia. That so many nations are represented reflects the time-consuming and costly effort by the volume editors to involve anthropologists from other nations in this project.

Our work has produced some 1,430 articles covering 1,800 cultures and three appendices covering an additional 1,200 cultures. Thus, these ten volumes provide descriptive information on 3,000 cultures around the world. While some of the cultures described here are only a few hundred people strong, at the other extreme one finds the Han Chinese who number over one billion but as the world's largest ethnic group are described in a single article.

The years during which we worked on the Encyclopedia were ones of enormous global political, social, and economic change. That these changes have influenced cultures around the world and relations among cultures is well documented in many of the articles. These global changes also influenced our work on the Encyclopedia. The break-up of the former Soviet Union made it possible for anthropologists in Russia and formerly Soviet but now newly independent republics to contribute to the Encyclopedia. That their contributions contain much information on material culture and folklore but little on kinship and political organization tells as much about how anthropological research was controlled during the years of Soviet rule. Continuing political and cultural repression in China, on the other hand, made it difficult to find scholars who would be allowed to write for a Western audience and, in fact, ultimately determined what cultures in China we could cover.

Indigenous rights movements influenced our definition of a culture and also the names we gave to specific cultures. More and more as the project progressed, we found contributors choosing the name the indigenous people now prefer for themselves in place of a name conventionally used in anthropology or by colonial powers in the past. Any possible confusion these changes or inconsistencies in naming might cause the reader are eliminated by the ethnonym indexes in each volume and the complete ethnonym index in this volume, which list alternative names for cultures.

Our work was also influenced by the attention paid by different governments to cultural variation within their borders. The Indonesian government, for example, in an effort to build a pan-Indonesian national culture, downplays the considerable cultural diversity within its borders and does not enumerate its population by cultural group. Thus, we had to construct our own list of cultures in Indonesia and rely on older data for population estimates. The Vietnamese, by contrast, in their last census produced a detailed list of all cultural groups, with standardized spellings and population figures. Finally, the migration of millions of people each year (both as emigrants and as refugees) kept alive for us the question of how to cover migrant communities outside their homeland. In general, we adhered to the policy established in Volume 1: to give immigrant groups less attention than indigenous groups.

Another type of cultural group given less than full attention in some volumes is the regional culture. Regional cultures, which are a worldwide phenomenon, are cultures whose members are defined simultaneously as members of a broader, usually national culture and as members of a more narrowly defined regional culture. Examples include Wessexmen or Yorkshiremen in England, New Englanders in the United States, and Central Mountain peasants in Norway. Our coverage of regional cultures has varied from volume to volume and even from nation to nation within volumes. When we have opted to give more attention to regional cultures—such as the Highland Scots in Scotland, Catalans in Spain, Bretons in France, or Sicilians in Italy, it is because they speak or until quite recently spoke a distinct language, are a political or quasi-political entity, or are clearly defined by themselves and others as a distinct culture. Many of these regional cultures are being absorbed into the national cultures, but some, such as Bretons and Catalans, are resisting, while others, such as the Cornish, are seeking to reestablish themselves as distinct cultural regions.

How to Use the Encyclopedia

Each of the nine volumes of text of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* deals with the cultures of a particular geographic area, and within each volume the cultures are arranged alphabetically. All entries present the information on different aspects of the culture—location, economy, kinship and family, religion, et cetera—in the same order, which makes it easy to locate the answer to specific questions.

An index to these volumes might therefore be perceived as a superfluous tool. However, we have designed an index that will make possible what the individual volumes cannot do, namely, cross-cultural comparisons. In the index each expression of culture—from family rites to religion and form of government—is broken down into different manifestations of these traditions, and under these headings the Index then lists the cultures practicing these customs. The Index is therefore the place to start if one is interested in types of culture and how they might compare with other types. Of course, the Index also lists each individual culture.

The study of particular countries is facilitated by the List of Cultures by Country, beginning on page 1. An Ethnonym Index, a complete list of all cultures covered in the Encyclopedia as well as alternate names by which they may be known, follows on page 17. The Index proper starts on page 17.

The Task of Ethnography

The word *ethnography*, created from two Greek words meaning "to describe a people" by the German pedagogue J. H. Campe in 1807, first appeared in English in 1834. This was on the eve of the earliest attempts to establish a science of anthropology. Not coincidentally, the word came into use at a time when educated Westerners, especially Christian believers, became interested in the characteristics and spiritual welfare of those they categorized as "savages," in connection with the mounting opposition to the immoral practice of slavery and the possibility of new realms for evangelization. In fact, the English word emerged a year after the British Parliament had abolished slavery. It was a period, too, when the systematic colonization of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada began to bring tens of thousands of Europeans into direct contact with peoples who had no idea what or where Europe was, and whose languages were unknown.

Robert H. Lowie (1953) grandly summed up the aim of ethnography as "the complete description of all cultural phenomena everywhere and at all periods." Most ethnographers, however, have confined their attention to contemporary societies. In recent years *ethnography* has taken on three closely related meanings: (1) the total scientific knowledge of the culture of a particular people; (2) the methodical acquisition of this knowledge; and (3) a published account of a culture and society. Some writers, especially French anthropologists, equate the term with "ethnology." In this Encyclopedia the authors and editors have employed all three of the above senses.

Early Forms of Ethnography

The proto-ethnography, if we may coin a word, has a very long history. It is not unusual today for histories of anthropology to begin with a bow toward Herodotus (c. 484–420 BCE), who did indeed attempt a methodical account of his known world (Blanco 1992). Through the subsequent centuries numerous Chinese writers, the Arab traveler al-Biruni, and many European explorers and travelers attempted to describe unknown cultures and peoples for the edification of the readers at home. Some of these authors were more critical of their sources than others, and the best no doubt made some serious intellectual efforts to get their facts straight. Today we would have to classify such people as travel writers whose work was essentially uninformed by any overall theory of society. (Herodotus was the exception, for he did have a theory about climate determining cultures.) In general they were caught up in the extraordinary nature of their exotic subject material, or even in the mere emotional effect of their travels. Witness the following paragraph from a nineteenth-century British account of a visit to a Hindu temple:

> The drums are beating *violently* as he approaches, and *wild* music of *strange* sorts is issuing from the *equally strange* building before him. He is admitted (after he has taken off his shoes), and beholds a sight as *extraordinary* as is the *noise* that accompanies it. On the walls of the room are *hideous* images, carved in stone and daubed in red paint, one representing a monkey, one a creature with a fat human belly, and an elephant's head, each with an offering of yellow marigolds before it.

I have italicized the words used to convey the emotional effect on the writer, apparently his major concern. That style of writing never contributed anything to anthropology.

This is not the place to survey the thousands of volumes produced, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by what may seem like armies of explorers, colonial officials, military officers, planters, traders, itinerant journalists, and Christian missionaries. Their colorful accounts are often well worth reading (albeit with a good deal of skepticism), and may contain highly revelatory illustrations and—after 1870—photographs. Anthropologists preparing for a bout of fieldwork in a particular territory are well advised to pay some attention to its earlier descriptive literature, however biased or inadequate it may appear. Yet it will only provide them with a shallow background, for almost never can it answer theoretical questions.

The Development of Modern Methods

Up to about World War I anthropology had developed through a division of labor. It was amateurs who discovered the early remnants of fossil man and some of the most famous Paleolithic living sites. Distinguished professors of human anatomy then studied the specimens in their laboratories and wrote their textbooks on human evolution. And in ethnology it was mostly amateurs too—travelers, colonial officials, and missionaries in particular—who wrote some of the earliest ethnographic descriptions of non-Western cultures and societies. These were later digested, and in the process given a new context, by such famed armchair anthropologists as Sir James Frazer or Sir Herbert Spencer, to be presented in altered format as the latest theories about mankind. These denizens of the great scholarly libraries usually had no first-hand experience of daily life in any non-Western society. For them ethnology and ethnography were almost two separate sciences, the one generalizing into grand theory from the specific field observations of the other.

Yet in the first two decades of the twentieth century several British and American scholars, among them Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and W. H. R. Rivers, accomplished the feat of bestriding these two tendencies by producing some of the earliest social theory to be grounded in *their own* field observations of non-Western peoples. The particular peoples chosen for study by this handful of men were exotic, small, marginal societies that up to that time few scholars knew anything about. But now there were men in the universities who, like the explorers of centuries past, had first-hand knowledge of these strangely different cultures; and it was knowledge based on such a long familiarity that their published accounts showed the "natives" or "savages" to be not as strange or different as might have been expected: There was pattern to their lives, a continuity and purpose, and even a sense of family, God, and history where scarcely any had been expected.

It was also fortunate that what we now view as the first scientific ethnographies by the early professional anthropologists covered such a broad range of territories and economic types. Boas had worked with the Baffin Island Inuit (1883–1884) and the Kwakiutl of British Columbia (1885–1935). His student A. L. Kroeber worked with the remaining tribes of California (1901–1939). Malinowski found himself among the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea during World War I (1915–1917), and made great strides in field methodology through his mastery of the language. Rivers pioneered in the study of kinship with his work on the South Indian Todas (1902), and repeatedly worked in Melanesia (1898–1915). A. R. Radcliffe-Brown studied the Andaman Islanders in the Bay of Bengal in 1906–1908, and then developed a broad acquaintance with Australian aboriginal tribes from 1910 to 1931. If we were to look at other parts of the world we could identify several others who did sterling ethnographic work: yet it was the above men who did most to establish the groundwork of social theory and fieldwork procedure in anthropology.

This statement is not to be taken as meaning that social theory is only an Anglo-American product. The work of other European social theoreticians is not to be slighted, especially the seminal studies of two French sociologists, Émile Durkheim and his student Marcel Mauss, and of the great German sociologists Max Weber and Karl Marx. Social anthropology has always acknowledged its debt to these figures. Yet they were sociologists and they did no fieldwork among non-Western peoples. So while Weber's study of ancient Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian civilizations and Durkheim's study of Australian aboriginal religion were immensely influential, it was left to ethnographers such as Radcliffe-Brown and A. P. Elkin to check the facts and incorporate these studies into their own work.

Today there is no sense that ethnography is a science separable from other aspects of sociocultural anthropology. For many it has become almost a literary style, while for others it is viewed as the basic accumulation of cultural facts upon which sociocultural theory is built. Since the middle of the twentieth century, ethnographies have tended to narrow their scope as compared with the "classics" of the earlier masters. So where these latter wrote all-encompassing works with titles like *The Todas* (Rivers 1906) or *The Veddas* (Seligman and Seligman 1911), the past half-century has been marked by such contributions as *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life* (Schapera 1947), *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi* (Fortes 1945), or *Rank and Religion in Tikopia* (Firth 1970). These are no less ethnographies than their predecessors, but they chose a narrower scope and filled in the details with more intimacy and understanding than had previously been possible.

Before Rivers, Boas, and Malinowski revolutionized fieldwork, data collection had often been restricted to the acquisition of material artifacts for museums, along with some necessary word lists. But after World War I we find a greater variety of approaches in participant observation, including the recording of life histories, the administration of objective tests, and the shooting of film. In 1938 George P. Murdock edited the first edition of *An Outline of Cultural Materials* to help organize the vast accumulation of field data from around the world and to serve as an index to field observations.

In 1968 Harold C. Conklin outlined what the ethnographic enterprise involves:

> The ethnographer tries not to rely upon published outlines and questionnaires; he shuns interviews with informants carried out in artificial settings; and he avoids premature quantification or overdifferentiated measurement. Initially, at least, flexibility, curiosity, patience, and experimentation with many alternative devices and procedures are desirable. In everyday conversations between field worker and informant, for example, attention to and use of such verbal techniques as the following have been used profitably, although not always with equal success: recording and using natural question and comment frames (i.e., the ways in which information is normally solicited and transmitted in the local language); noting and using question-response sequences and implications; testing by intentional substitution of acceptable and incongruent references; testing by paraphrase; testing by reference to hypothetical situations; testing by experimental extensions of reference; and testing by switching styles, channels, code signals, message content, and roles (by reference or impersonation). Similarly, in the making of visual and nonverbal observations initial experimentation and flexibility help to determine focuses and boundaries of scenes, scheduled events, key roles, etc. Graphic and plastic modeling media have provided additional dimensions for the exploration of actual or hypothetical situations otherwise not easily investigated. Furthermore, ethnomodels, often ignored or treated anecdotally, may clarify and facilitate field observation. When local systems have been qualitatively established, other procedures such as scaling techniques may be applied to increase the range of observations and provide some basis for quantification by various kinds of discrete, direct, or indirect measures [p. 175].

Conklin goes on to discuss how "the observer becomes a part of . . . the observed universe," a matter which has received much consideration in recent years.

Recent Trends in Ethnography

Since the 1970s a dozen trends can be discerned, to judge from the journal articles and academic books dealing with ethnography:

1. Many publications have been devoted to a self-conscious concern with ethics and what is called "reflexivity," including a variety of autobiographical essays. Many

ethnographers today find themselves involved in the promotion and advocacy (or otherwise) of local causes. This practice raises questions about the objectivity of the data that they are simultaneously gathering in a community.

2. Field observations are being quantified in preparation for increasingly sophisticated analyses by computer.

3. There is much focus on urban social systems, at home and abroad, and on "postpeasants," neither of which was a major concern of earlier ethnography.

4. Modernization and social change are omnipresent, so the early concern with describing "static" societies in equilibrium (e.g., Rivers on the Todas) has disappeared.

5. Anthropologists continue to identify with "their people," but are now more likely to enter into formal partnerships with them, either for economic improvement or for better recording the old traditions that will be passed down to a literate posterity. Much academic and museum research is now published for very different audiences. It is recognized that a community providing data to an anthropologist has intellectual rights in that material.

6. While not all of the world's cultures are adequately known, and some broad ethnographics are still being published, the tendency is to devote a book to what may seem very narrow and specialized or esoteric—but nonetheless interesting and potentially important—issues.

7. Recognition of the relevance of ecological factors is no longer the mark of one particular "school" of anthropology, but is fundamental in the intellectual background of ethnographers.

8. By focusing on pervasive processes like modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and cultural change generally, ethnographers are relying less on data gathered from just one or at most a handful of reliable "key informants" and more on survey approaches with a population sample.

9 Although the early concern with kinship persists, there is now more research on networks that link individuals not only to their relatives but also to political powers, work opportunities, and ecological issues.

10. The study of a selected community remains popular, although many anthropologists now work with heterogeneous regions or with intercommunity issues involving some ethnic diversity.

11. While research teams larger than two people were highly unusual in social anthropology (though common in bioanthropology and archaeology), multiperson and even interdisciplinary teams are now being deployed in the field. This reflects recognition of the artificiality of disciplinary boundaries and of the relevance of findings in economics, demography, and psychology to the investigation of modern social processes.

Ethnicity and Subcultural Variation

Although the Greek word *ethnos* at the root of ethnicity, ethnography, and related words had the meaning of "a people," the sense in modern anthropological terms is of a people's *culture*, their habits, customs, beliefs, and ways of making a living and organizing their social relationships; it is definitely not concerned with their physical organisms.

Not all of the cultures that are the subject of articles in the Encyclopedia can be equated with "societies." The latter term has been defined in many ways to denote the largest organization of groups of persons sharing a similar culture. Admittedly there is a good deal of unavoidable flexibility in the way social scientists use that term, yet it is clear that many of the entries in the Encyclopedia deal not with societies but with part-societies (e.g., Peripatetics, Volume 3) or a religious cult (e.g., Bengali Shakta, Volume 3) or a caste-block (e.g., Vellala, Volume 3) or an ethnic group that finds itself embedded in a larger, encompassing society (e.g., Cornish, Volume 4). The variety of types of social unit raises the question whether the material in different entries is strictly comparable.

This Encyclopedia deals with the specific cultures of perhaps 1,800 "peoples," large and small, regardless of the type of social unit they represent and how they are best defined. Some of the tribes or island groups are only a few hundred people strong. At the other extreme we find the Han (more commonly referred to as Chinese), who are described in a single article covering over one billion people. Some cultures may appear very similar to their neighbors, while others are quite distinctive and strive to maintain that distinctiveness. When two or more cultures share a similar history, inhabit contiguous territories, and have a common language and religion and similar economic, political, and family institutions, they may look so similar—both on paper and on the ground—that a question can easily arise as to whether they are really two cultures or just subcultural variations of the same one. The more serious theoretical question centers on how anthropologists define a culture and demarcate its boundaries. Do they perhaps reify and make more contained something that is in fact rather fluid? Do they see social boundaries where in fact these are of little or no importance?

The term *subculture* is a useful one here, yet it appears in the indexes of few textbooks and remains generally undefined. There are indeed *subsystems* within all cultures, made up of the divergent patterns of the two sexes, the often varying patterns among different age-sets, and, in stratified societies, the normative behavior characterizing the various classes or castes. Beyond this, though, a culture that is not highly localized in a tiny social group tends to develop regional subvarieties which it would be appropriate to call subcultures, too. Yet there is a difference here. For example, British national culture cannot and would never survive without the part-cultures of the two genders; the adolescents, the middle-aged, and the elderly; and the distinctive behavioral patterns of the several social classes. On the other hand, it could survive quite well without the subculture of Ulster, even though Northern Ireland is a constituent part of the United Kingdom. What is the difference here? The point is that regional variations can be amalgamated or lost depending on fluctuating political and military conditions. Ulster could well become a regional variation of Irish culture (for many, it already is), whereas Protestants in Ulster insist it is a regional variant of British culture.

One study that has focused on such issues has been Fredrik Barth's early work on the Pathans of the border zone between Pakistan and Afghanistan, Pathans, or Pakhtuns (Volume 3), share the use of some of that land with Kohistanis and Gujjars, two other ethnic groups with very different economic adaptations to this mountainous area. Barth (1969) makes the universally valid point that:

> Though the members of such an ethnic group may carry a firm conviction of identity, their knowledge of distant communities who claim to share this identity will be

limited; and intercommunication within the ethnic group—though it forms an uninterrupted network—cannot lightly be assumed to disseminate adequate information to maintain a shared body of values and understanding through time. Thus, even if we can show that the maintenance of Pathan identity is an overt goal, for all members of the group, this will be a goal pursued within the limited perspective of highly discrepant local settings. Consequently the aggregate result will not automatically be the persistence of an undivided and distinctive, single ethnic group [p. 117].

Individuals can even *shift* their ethnic identity depending on where they are and what they want to do. A Pathan on entering Peshawar City becomes a Baluch-, Panjabi-, or Persian-speaking townsman, changing his ethnic label to avoid the costs of failure at being assimilated (Barth 1969, p. 133).

There is no doubt that the boundaries of most subcultures are highly permeable and thus that change is inevitable. Television and other mass media, employment mobility, the motorways, overseas vacations, and perhaps an enhanced sense of "belonging in Europe," have all played their part in the late twentieth century to make one's personal identity as a Cornishman—and indeed the very use of the term—a quaint thing of the past. It is important to realize that what has already happened in this corner of England is also in process of happening with most, if not all, of the ethnic groups that form the subjects of the entries throughout this Encyclopedia.

PAUL HOCKINGS

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List of Cultures by Country

Ethnonym Index

This index provides some of the alternative names and the names of major subgroups for cultures covered in the nine text volumes of the encyclopedia. The culture names that are entry titles are in boldface. The letter a following a volume number indicates a listing in the appendix to that volume. For volume 6, the symbol (R) indicates that the article is to be found in Part One, Russia and Eurasia; (C) indicates that the article is in Part Two, China.

Subject Index